

Message Text

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FM AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG

TO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE

SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6092

INFO AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE

AMCONSUL DURBAN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

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USIA FOR IAA ALSO USINFO

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FROM USIS - HUGHES

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y FOR SECTION INFORMATION (SECTION
ONE OF FIVE VICE SECTION ONE OF THREE)

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, SF, US

SUBJECT: TRANSCRIPT OF AMB YOUNG'S STATEMENTS AT USIS,
MAY 22

FOLLOWING IS THE TRANSCRIPT OF AMBASSADOR ANDREW YOUNG'S
STATEMENT AND Q&A SESSION AT USIS JOHANNESBURG MAY 22.

NOTE: THIS IS NOT TO BE RELEASED UNTIL AMBASSADOR YOUNG AND
HIS STAFF MEMBERS HAVE REVIEWED TEXT.

SINCE MY FIRST VISIT HERE SOME THREE YEARS AGO, IT'S VERY

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HARD TO GET YOU FOLKS OUT OF MY MIND. AND, I THINK THAT IT
WAS A MEETING IN THIS VERY ROOM, WHERE THINGS GOT A LITTLE
HEATED FOR AWHILE, THAT A LINK WAS FORGED BETWEEN ME AND YOU
IN THIS STRANGE COUNTRY OF YOURS. SOUTH AFRICA IS SORT OF LIKE
QUICKSAND -- YOU STICK YOUR FOOT IN AND IT SUCKS YOU ON IN; YOUR
CAN'T GET AWAY FROM IT. I WAS HERE BACK IN DECEMBER AND THOUGH
I DIDN'T GET TO JOHANNESBURG, I DID GO DOWN TO SEE ROBERT

SOBUKWE, AND I WENT DOWN TO CAPETOWN. IT WAS SHORTLY AFTER THAT, IN FACT IT WAS THE WEEKEND I GOT BACK WHEN PRESIDENT-ELECT JIMMY CARTER CALLED ME UP TO ASK ME TO COME BY TO TELL HIM ABOUT MY TRIP TO AFRICA. I WENT BY TO TALK WITH HIM ABOUT THE MEETING WE HAD IN MASERU AND LESOTHO AND GIVE HIM SOME OF MY PERCEPTIONS OF WHAT WAS GOING ON HERE, AND THAT WAS WHEN HE ASKED ME TO BE AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED NATIONS. AND AFTER HAVING JUST BEEN HERE, EVEN THOUGH I KNEW THIS WAS A DIFFICULT JOB THAT WAS FRAUGHT WITH POLITICAL HAZARDS, I COULDN'T SAY NO, IN GOOD MEASURE BECAUSE OF THE INFLUENCE OF MY ASSOCIATIONS WITH MANY OF YOU.

AND SO IT'S A PLEASURE TO BE BACK. THE ONLY PROBLEM WITH A QUICK TRIP LIKE THIS, WHERE WE STARTED OUT LAST WEEK SOME TIME, I FORGET WHEN, AND WE WENT FIRST TO IVORY COAST. WE SPENT A FEW DAYS THERE AND THEN WENT TO GHANA, TO LIBERIA, THEN ALL THE WAY BACK UP TO LISBON TO MEET WITH THE VICE PRESIDENT. THEN ON TO GABON, AND THEN OVER TO MPAUTO FOR THE CONFERENCE IN MOZAMBIQUE. NOW WE'RE HERE AND WE LEAVE IN A FEW HOURS TO GO TO ZAMBIA, AND THEN ON FROM THERE TO THE SUDAN, UP TO LONDON, AND FINALLY BACK HOME. I GET SO EXCITED THAT EVEN WHEN I GET A CHANCE TO SLEEP, I CAN'T GO TO SLEEP, AND THEN I FIND MYSELF WAKING UP AT FIVE O'CLOCK IN THE MORNING. SO, IF I SOUND KIND OF TIRED AND SLEEPY, IT'S ONLY BECAUSE I AM.

I DON'T HAVE ANY MORE TO SAY, BUT I'D BE GLAD TO ANSWER ANY QUESTIONS YOU HAVE. WELL, MAYBE I DO HAVE SOMETHING ELSE TO SAY, AND THAT IS THAT THERE IS A SERIOUS COMMITMENT ON THE PART OF PRESIDENT JIMMY CARTER, VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE, SECRETARY OF STATE, AND THE ENTIRE ADMINISTRATION IN WASHINGTON TO MAINTAIN A COMM-
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UNICATIONS LINK WITH THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA IN THE INTEREST OF A PROGRESSIVE TRANSFORMATION OF THIS SOCIETY TOWARD MAJORITY RULE. THAT'S NOT SOMETHING I DREAMED UP; THAT'S OFFICIAL US POLICY; AND THE MEETING BETWEEN VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE AND VORSTER WAS ESSENTIALLY TO COMMUNICATE THAT POLICY. WE DO INTEND TO STAY VERY CLOSE TO THIS SITUATION, NOT BECAUSE WE HAVE ANYTHING TO GAIN, BUT ESSENTIALLY BECAUSE IT SEEMS AS THOUGH IF THINGS GET EXTREMELY BAD HERE, THE POISON OF RACISM AND APARTHEID WOULD NOT BE ISOLATED HERE, BUT WOULD SPILL OVER TO EUROPE AND AMERICA AND ALL OVER THE WORLD. AND IT NEEDS TO BE DEALT WITH HERE. WE ARE COMMITTED AS AN ADMINISTRATION TO WORKING WITH YOUR GOVERNMENT, WITH INDIVIDUALS IN THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY, WITH BLACK LEADERS IN AN EFFORT TO PUT AN END TO RACISM AND APARTHEID IN THIS SOCIETY. NOW, HOW WE DO THAT IS A LONG AND DIFFICULT STRUGGLE. AND, I THINK ABOUT THE ONLY THING WE CAN DO IS KEEP ENOUGH PRESSURE ON IN MANY WAYS THAT WILL ENABLE YOU WHO ARE THE LEADERS IN A STRUGGLE FOR CHANGE WITHIN YOUR SOCIETY TO DETERMINE WHAT SHOULD BE A NEW AND MORE JUST WORKING RELATIONSHIP WITH THE WHITE MINORITY.

I'LL TELL A STORY THAT WAS VERY MEANINGFUL TO US IN OUR CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT--- WHICH HAS ABSOLUTELY NO RELEVANCE TO YOUR SITUATION HERE. BUT, ONE OF OUR MEN HAD A BOY WITH POLIO, AND HE HAD TO WEAR BRACES, AND THOSE BRACES PRESSED ON HIS LEGS AND PUT HIS LIMBS IN TRACTION AND KEPT HIM UNDER TREMENDOUS PRESSURE. AT NIGHT THE BOY WOULD CRY AND HOLLER AND PLEAD WITH HIS FATHER TO REMOVE THE PRESURE AND TO RELEASE THE BRACES JUST FOR A LITTLE WHILE. AND THE FATHER KNEW THAT IF THAT BOY WAS EVER TO WALK AND TO BE A STRONG MAN, HE HAD TO KEEP THE PRESSURE ON. I DON'T KNOW WHAT KIND OF PRESSURE WERE GOING TO PUT ON. WE DON'T REALLY HAVE TO PUT PRESSURE ON AS A GOVERNMENT. THERE IS PRESSURE FROM THE MOVEMENT OF HISTORY. AND PRESSURE COMING FROM YOUR CHILDREN, FROM YOU YOURSELVES, PRESSURE COMING FROM THE ECONOMIC FORCES THAT ARE DEVELOPING THROUGHOUT BLACK AFRICA, PRESSURS COMING FROM THE INTERNAL POLITICS OF CERTAIN EUROPEAN STATES, AND PRESSURE COMING FROM LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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THE ASPIRATIONS OF LIBERATIN MOVEMENTS ACROSS THE SOUTHERN PART OF THIS CONTNENT. IT'S VERY EASY TO TRY TO IGNORE THAT PRESSURE, TO MISINTERPRET THAT PRESSURE. AND ONE OF THE THINGS THAT ALWAYS HAPPENED TO US WAS THAT THERE WERE AT LEAST 5,000 AGENTS THAT WWERE ASSIGNED TO FOLLOW OUR CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT AROUND--WHICH HAS NO RELATIONSHIP TO YOUR BUREAU OF STATE SECURITY, OR ANYTHING LIKE THAT, I MEAN I WOULDN'T DARE MAKE THE ASSOCIAGION. BUT THEIR WHOLE POINT WAS TO TRY TO DOCUMENT THE FACT THAT OUR MOVEMENT WAS COMMUNIST. AND THEY LOOKED FOR TEN YEARS AND THEY COULD FIND NO CONNECTION. AND IT WAS VERY FUNNY FOR ME AT THE UNITED NATIONS A FEW WEEKS AGO FOR THE RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR TO BEGIN TO TALK ABOUT OUR PRESSURE ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND FOR THE STORIES TO COME FROM THE SOVIET UNION THAT IMPLY THAT HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE PRESSURE OF PEOPLE IN THE SOVIET UNION FOR THEIR RIGHTS IS A RESULT OF SOME CAPITALIST CONSPIRACY. AND I HAD TO TELL MY FRIEND THAT I HOPED THAT THEY WOULDN'T MAKE THE MISTAKE THAT WE MADE THAT IT DOESN'T TAKE A CAPATALIST TO TELL SOMEBODY THAT THEY NEED TO BE FREE JUST AS IT DIDN'T TAKE A COMMUNIST TO TELL SOMEBODY THAT THEY WERE DENIED FREEDOM AND JUSTICE IN THEIR OWN LAND. AND I THINK THAT OUR CONSTITUTION SAYS ITS SOMETHING THAT WE WERE ENDOWED WITH BY OUR CREATOR, CERTAIN INALIENABLE RIGHTS. AND IF OUR CREATOR ENDOWED US IN THE UNITED STATES WITH CERTAIN INALIENABLE RIGHTS, HE CERTAINLY DIDN'T LIMIT THOSE RIGHTS TO PEOPLE BORN IN THE UNITED STATES. FOR IF THEY ARE DERIVED FROM THE CREATOR OF HEAVEN AND EARTH, THEY APPLY TO ALL HIS CHILDREN WHEREVER THEY MAY BE, WHETHER IT BE SOWETO OR THE SOVIET UNION. AND THAT'S REALLY THE PRESSURE, THEE PRESSURE COMING FROM WITHIN THE HEARTS AND MINDS OF MEN AND WOMEN, AND BOYS AND GIRLS. AND IT THINK IT'S OUR JOB TO INTERPRET THAT, AND TO HELP PEOPLE TO FACE THAT, AND TO STAND WITH THEM, TO HELP THEM TO REALIZE THAT THERE REALLY IS NO VIRTUE IN FIGHTING TO THE DEATH. THE VIRTUE IS IN LIVING WITH YOUR BROTHERS, AND

THAT'S NOT IMPOSSIBLE. SO, I WILL BE GLAD TO ANSWER ANY QUESTIONS
YOU HAVE AND IT'S JUST VERY GOOD T BE HERE WITH YOU ONCE AGAIN.
THANK YOU.

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1. MR AMBASSADOR, YOU WILL NOT AGREE THAT THERE IS NO COMMUNI-
CATION IN SOUTH AFRICA BETWEEN THE POWERS THAT BE AND THE TRUE LEAD-
ERS OF THE BLACK PEOPLE IN THIS COUNTRY. I'M TALKING ABOUT MR
SOBUKEWE AND MR MANDELA, AND SO FORTH.WHAT DOES THE US SAY
ABOUT THAT, OR WHAT COULD YOU DO ABOUT THAT?

A. WELL, I THINK ONE OF THE QUESTIONS THAT VICE PRES MONDALE
RAISED WITH VORSTER WAS THE QUESTION OF MRS MANDELA'S BANNING AND
RELOCATION IN BLOEMFONTEIN. AND ONE OF THE THINGS THAT I'VE SAID
OVER AND OVER AGAIN, THAT WHEN YOU DEPRIVE PEOPLE OF THEIR REAL
LEADERS, YOU ARE CONTRIBUTING TO CHAOS. AND I SHOULD THINK
THAT THEY SHOULD LEARN FROM THE KIND OF SITUATION THAT EXISTS IN
UDGANDA. THERE WERE THOSE THAT DIDN'T WANT TO DEAL WITH AN INTELL-
IGENT, MILITANT BUT INDEPENDENT MILTON OBOTE AND SO THEY CONSPIRED
TO OVERTHROW HIM, AND DEPOSE HIM, AND PUT IN SOMEBODY THEY THOUGHT
THEY COULD CONTROL, AND THEY SELECTED IDI AMIN, NOT THE PEOPLE OF
OF UGANDA.

I THINK THERE IS A LESSON TO BE LEARNED ALL OVER AFRICA THAT
WHEN OUTSIDERS TRY TO SELECT LEADERS THAT THEY CAN CONTROL THEY
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INEVITABLY SELECT WEAK PEOPLE. AND IN SELECTING WEAK PEOPLE, THEY MAY BE CONTRIBUTING TO THEIR OWN DESTRUCTION. IT'S MUCH BETTER FOR THE STRONGEST LEADERS AVAILABLE TO BE RESPECTED AND RECOGNIZED BECAUSE THE PROBLEMS ARE SO GREAT THAT THE STRONGEST OF OUR LEADERS HAVE DIFFICULTY DEALING WITH THEM . AND, IF THE UNITED STATES,IS AS STRONG AS WE ARE, AND AS BROAD A BASE OF TALENT AS WE HAVE, TOOK TEN YEARS TO OVERCOME THE LOSS OF JOHN KENNEDY, ROBERT KENNEDY, AND MARTIN LUTHER KING, HOW MUCH MORE DOES SOUTH AFRICA NEED THE LEADERSHIP OF A ROBERT SOBUKWE, OR A NELSON AND WINNIE MANDELA, OR THE STUDENT LEADERSHIP THAT IS EMERGING. THAT FUTURE REALLY RESTS WITH THE ABILITY TO COMMUNCIATE WITH THE PEOPLE WHO HAVE THE RESPECT OF MANY OF THE CITIZENS IN THE COUNTRY. THIS DOESN' MEAN THAT THERE'S NOT A ROLE FOR OTHER LEADERS.

I THINK ONE OF THE THINGS THAT WE LEARNED --- THAT IS TOTALLY IRRELEVANT TO YOUR SITUATION --- IS THAT IT WAS VERY DANGEROUS FOR US TO CONFINE TOO MUCH OF THE LEADERSHIP IN THE PERSON OF MARTIN LUTHER KING. ONE OF THE THINGS THAT HE WAS TRYING DESPARATELY TO DO WAS TO CREATE A PATTERN OF THE DISPERSAL OF LEADERSHIP, THAT THERE OUGHT TO BE A WIDE VARIETY OF LEADERSHIP OF MANY DIFFERENT KINDS AND THAT THE MODERATES, AND EVEN THOSE THAT YOU THINK OF AS UNCLE TOM'S, ARE AS IMPORTANT AS THE MILITANTS. I LEARNED THAT ONE TIME WHEN WE WERE LOCKED OUT OF WELL, IT WAS WEATHER LIKE THIS, WHERE IT WAS VERY HOT IN THE DAYTIME, AND SEVERAL THOUSAND CHILDREN WERE PUT IN JAIL. THEY WERE TAKEN DOWN TO A RURAL AREA OF ALABAMA, AND IT GOT VERY COLD AT NIGHT AND DROPPED' BELOW FREEZING. THE PRISON WAS WAY OUT IN THE RURAL AREA WHERE ANY OF US WHO WERE RECOGNIZED AS CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS WOULD HAVE ALMOST CERTAINLY BEEN KILLED HAD WE VENTURED OUT AT NIGHT. WE WERE SITTING THERE THINKING OF CHILDREN FREEZING, WITH SIMPLE SHIRT SLEEVES ON, AND WONDERING HOW WE COULD GET THEM SOME WARM CLOTHES. THE MAN WHO EVERYBODY HAD DENOUNCED AS THE UNCLE TOM FINALLY SPOKE UP AND SAID, "I CAN GO." HE SAID, "LOAD UP MY STATION WAGON WITH ALL THE BLANKETS AND WARM CLOTHING THAT YOU CAN FIND AND GIVE ME A COUPLE BOTTLES OF BOURBON AND I'LL TAKE CARE OF IT." HE WENT DOWN AND LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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HE SAW THE JAILERS, AND HE WENT IN, GOOD UNCLE TOM THAT HE WAS, AND SAID, BOSS I KNEW IT WAS COLD DOWN HERE AND I KNEW YOU'D LIKE A LITTLE NIP TO KEEP YOU WARM, SO I BROUGHT YOU THIS BOTTLE OF BOURBON.

"

AND IN THE MEANTIME, AFTER A DRINK OR TWO, HE SAID, YOU DON'T MIND ME GIVEN THESE CHILDREN THESE BLANKETS, DO YOU?" HE SAID, NO BOY, GO AHEAD."

IT TAKES ALL KINDS.BUT THAT'S NOT RELEVANT TO YOUR SITUATION. Q.ANDY, IVE SEEN REPORTED IN THE PRESS THAT YOU HAVE ADVISED

NEGOTIATION AND DIALOGUE. I WANT TO POST THIS QUESTION TO YOU. THIS GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN IN POWER FOR 29 YEARS, AND FOR 29 YEARS WE HAVE BEEN SPEAKING TO THEM, ALTHOUGH IT'S NOT BEEN THE CASE OF THEIR SPEAKING FROM THE TOP TO US. THE REAL ESSENCE OF THE QUESTION, IS HOW MUCH LONGER ARE WE TO CONTINUE TO SPEAK TO PEOPLE WHO'VE GONE DEAF?

A. WELL, I THINK YOU HAVE TO FIND A WAY TO MAKE THEM HEAR. WE USED TO SAY THAT THERE WERE ONLY TWO THINGS THAT WHITE PEOPLE LISTENED TO, AND THAT WAS VOTES AND DOLLARS. AND, SINCE WE DIDN'T HAVE ANY VOTES, WE HAD TO USE OUR DOLLARS. AND WE USED OUR DOLLARS. OF COURSE I'M NOT ADVISING YOU TO DO THAT BECAUSE THAT WOULD BE INTERFERING WITH YOUR INTERNAL AFFAIRS. I'M A SOPHISTICATED DIPLOMAT AND I DON'T DO THAT, BUT....

Q. MAY I FOLLOW THAT UP, WE HAVEN'T GOT THE DOLLARS AND WE HAVEN'T GOT THE VOTES.

A. NO, YOU'D BE SURPRISED AT HOW MANY DOLLARS YOU HAVE. I MEAN THE DIFFERENCE IN A POLITICAL SYSTEM IS THAT THE PROFIT MARGIN IS JUST ABOUT 10 PCT AND WITH THE LARGE NUMBER OF PEOPLE THAT YOU HAVE... OF COURSE, I'M MEDDLING IN YOUR BUSINESS. DON'T LET ME, LET ME LEAVE THAT ALONE.

Q. THE PROBLEM IN SA IS THAT MOST OF OUR LEADERSHIP WHEN IT STARTS EMERGING, IT GETS CRUSHED IN TERMS OF BANNING. THE PROBLEM IN SOUTH AFRICA IS THAT THERE IS NO REAL OPPORTUNITY FOR MEANINGFUL DIALOGUE, BECAUSE IF THERE SHOULD BE DIALOGUE, (INAUDIBLE) WE WANT TO KNOW FROM YOU WHAT FORM OF PRESSURE YOU COULD POSSIBLY LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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USE TO RELEASE THE BLACK LEADERSHIP OF THE BLACK PEOPLE IN THE ESCALATION OF NATIONALIST ATTACKS SO THERE CAN BE DIALOGUE.

A. WELL, I THINK FRANKLY THAT ONE OF THE REASONS WHY IT'S VERY HARD TO GET INVESTMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA IS THE CONSTANT TENSION AND TURMOIL WHICH EXISTS HERE. AND THAT TENSION AND TURMOIL EXISTS HERE BECAUSE THERE'S NO DIALOGUE WITH THE LEADERSHIP. I THINK THAT'S THE KIND OF THING THAT THE VICE PRESIDENT WAS POINTING OUT. SOMETIMES IT'S GOOD NOT TO HAVE DIALOGUE, AND NOT TO HAVE ANYTHING TO SAY, BUT IN ORGANIZING ONE'S ACTIONS, CREATE THE KIND OF SITUATION WHERE THEY HAVE TO TALK TO YOU. I TALKED TO A FEW STUDENTS THE OTHER DAY AND I THINK THAT THEY ARE WELL ON THEIR WAY IN THAT DIRECTION. I WAS REALLY IMPRESSED AT THE LEVEL OF SOPHISTICATION, THE LEVEL OF COMMITMENT TO NON-VIOLENCE WHICH WAS NOT TRUE A FEW YEARS AGO. WHEN I IMPLIED THAT MAYBE YOUNG PEOPLE WERE NOT VERY RELIGIOUS THEY JUMPED ON ME AND INSISTED THAT THERE WAS A RELIGIOUS COMMITMENT AND THAT THEY WERE NOT ASHAMED OF THEIR CHRISTIAN HERITAGE. I WAS PLEASED TO BE SO CHASTIZED. THEY WERE HARDLY MORE THAN 17 YEARS OLD, BUT REALLY VERY, VERY WISE, MAYBE THE WISEST PEOPLE I'VE TALKED TO SINCE I'VE BEEN HERE.

Q. MR YOUNG, YOU TALK ABOUT YOUR COMMITMENT TO NON-VIOLENCE. DO YOU THINK MORE CHANGE MIGHT COME HERE MORE RAPIDLY IF THE

UNITED STATES SHOWED MORE OPEN OPPOSITION TO VIOLENCE? IN
OTHER WORDS, IF IT DISSOCIATED ITSELF FROM THE MILITANT
MOVEMENTS AND TRIED TO NEGOTIATE MORE ACTIVELY WITH THE MODERATES.

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A. NOW, WE HAVE NO ASSOCIATIONS WITH THE MILITANT MOVEMENTS, I
WISH WE DID. BECAUSE, WHILE I THINK THAT NON-VIOLENCE IS FRANKLY
TOTALLY IRRELEVANT HERE, I WOULD HARDLY SAY TO PEOPLE IN ZIMBABWE
AFTER 13 YEARS OF PROMISES AND WITH AN ACTIVE MILITARY SITUATION THAT
THEY SHOULD REFRAIN FROM ARMED STRUGGLE. AND I THINK MAYBE THE
ONLY REASON THAT THERE ARE TALKS NOW IS THE LEVEL OF ARMED
STRUGGLE THAT'S
BEEN REACHED. IT'D BE QUITE HYPOCRITICAL FOR THE UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA THAT TOOK UP ARMS TO GET ITS FREEDOM FROM BRITAIN, TO GO
AROUND THE WORLD NOW ADVISING PEOPLE AGAINST IT, I THINK WE ARE
BASICALLY NEUTRAL. OUT JOB, AND WE ARE DOING IT AS BEST WE CAN,
IS TO TRY TO PROVE THE RELEVANCE AND POWER OF NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENTS.
BUT I DON'T KNOW THAT WE WOULD HAVE ANY CREDIBILITY IN ADVISING
PEOPLE AGAINST VIOLENCE, AS A GOVERNMENT. I ADVISE PEOPLE; I SPEAK
OUT AGAINST VIOLENCE ON TACTICAL GROUNDS, IN A SITUATION LIKE THIS. I
WOULD PREFER NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENTS IN NAMIBIA AND IN ZIMBABWE,
BUT IT'S HARD TO SAY TO PEOPLE WHO ARE BEING KILLED DAY BY DAY,
DON'T DEFEND YOURSELVES. EVEN MARTIN LUTHER KING, AS COMMITTED AS
HE WAS TO NON-VIOLENCE, MADE A DISTINCTION BETWEEN AGGRESSIVE

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VIOLENCE, RETALIATORY VIOLENCE, AND DEFENSIVE VIOLENCE. HE OPPOSED
AGGRESSIVE VIOLENCE, AND HE OPPOSED RETALIATORY VIOLENCE, BUT

VIOLENCE IN SELF DEFENSE WHEN PEOPLE ARE BEING VIOLENT AGAINST YOU, HE NEVER SPOKE AGAINST. THERE IS A SENSE IN WHICH THE OPPRESSIVE RACIST REGIMES ARE BEING VERY AGGRESSIVELY VIOLENT AND THE RESPONSES ARE ESSENTIALLY DEFENSIVE. I MEAN MOZAMBIQUE FRELIMO DID NOT ORGANIZE AS AN ARMED STRUGGLE UNTIL 600 PEOPLE WERE SHOT DOWN WHO WERE STANDING UP DOING NOTHING. SO, IN A SENSE, THE FORCES OF OPPRESSION HAVE CREATED THE ARMED STRUGGLE. THEY WERE NOT CREATED BY THE FORCES THAT ARE ASPIRING FOR FREEDOM.

Q. MR YOUNG, IN URGING PEACFUL CHANGE WHICH YOU HAVE, SHOULD THIS IMPLY TO MEAN TOTAL ENFRANCHISEMENT, VIRTUALLY ONE MAN ONE VOTE?

INTERJECTION (MR COOKS): THIS IS NOT A PRESS CONFERENCE.

(MR YOUNG) YES, THE PRESS CONFERENCE IS A LITTLE LATER. AND IF WE COULD HAVE THE COMMUNITY LEADERS ASKING THE QUESTIONS, WE CAN GET THE PRESS QUESTIONS AT 4:30.

Q. AMBASSADOR YOUNG, YOU HAVE JUST SAID THAT MUCH THAT HAS TO BE DONE RESTS ON THE ROLE THAT DOLLARS AND VOTES CAN PLAY. WITH REGARD TO DOLLARS, DO YOU SEE ANY ROLE FOR US CORPORATIONS WHICH ARE WORKIN TO BRINGING ABOUT A KIND OF SITUATION WHERE THEY COULD CONTRIBUTE TOWARDS LESSENING THE PRESSURES ON THE BLACK COMMUNITY IN THIS COUNTRY?

A. YES, ONE OF THE THINGS WE HAVE ADVOCATED FOR THOSE CORPORATIONS THAT ARE HERE IS EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK. AND THE PRESIDENT PERSONALLY HAD THE SECRETARY OF TREASURY CALL THOSE CORPORATIONS THAT SIGNED THE DOCUMENT THAT REV LEON SULLIVAN WAS CIRCULATING AND THANK THEM PERSONALLY FOR THEIR PLEDGES IN HIS BEHALF. I TALKED WITH DR SULLIVAN JUST BEFORE WE LEFT AND WHAT WAS 12 CORPORATIONS A MONTHS OR SO AGO, HE HOPES WILL BE INCREASED TO 50 CORPORATIONS BY THE END OF JUNE, AND HE PLANS TO KEEP ON WORKING AT THAT. I THINK THAT THE STRUGGLE PROCEEDS ON ALL LEVELS -- IT PROCEEDS ECONOMICALLY, IT PROCEEDS EDUCATIONALLY, IT PROCEEDS SPIRITUALLY, AND MORALLY, AND IT PROCEEDS POLITICALLY AND WHEN ONE AVENUE IS NOT OPEN OR ANOTHER, THEN IT'S NECESSARY TO USE THOSE AVENUES THAT ARE

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AT YOUR DISPOSAL.

Q. MR AMBASSADOR, TWO QUESTIONS, THE FIRST ONE BEING YOU MENTIONED TWO TYPES OF VIOLENCE. HOW DOES THE UNITED STATES CLASSIFY THE MURDERS OF BLACKS AND WHITES BY THE GUERILLAS IN RHODESIA AND NIMIBIA AND ALSO IN TAKING THE KIND OF VIOLENCE SUCH AS DONE TO MR EDDLESTEIN INTO LAST YEAR, I WOULD JUST LIKE YOUR COMMENT ON THAT. AND SECONDLY, I THINK IT WAS DR MARTIN LUTHER KING THAT HAD THE DREAM OF AMERICAN SOCIETY; MY DREAMS OF SOUTH AFRICA ARE NIGHTMARES. WE TALK ABOUT TIME, WHAT IS THERE? DO YOU THINK THAT AFRICA WILL HAVE ENOUGH TIME TO COME TO A SITUATION WHERE ALL SOUTH AFRICANS WHETHER THEY BE BLACK OR WHITE CAN SHARE IN THIS COUNTRY AND LIVE TOGETHER?

A. YES, I DO. AND I THINK THAT THERE IS ENOUGH TIME BECAUSE, WELL, I REMEMBERS STANDING UP IN CONGRESS IN JUNE OF 1974 AND OFFERING AN AMENDMENT TO RESTRICT THE USE OF NATO WEAPONS BY PORTUGAL IN

THE COLONIAL WARS AGAINST ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUES. I SAID THEN THAT WE DON'T HAVE BUT POSSIBLY TWO YEARS, AND AT MOST FIVE, BEFORE THE SITUATION WILL CHANGE. MOST OF MY COLLEAGUES AND THE PRESS THOUGHT THAT I WAS BEING VERY NAIVE AND OPTIMISTIC. AT THAT VERY TIME THERE WAS A STATE DEPARTMENT DOCUMENT WHICH SAID THAT OUR POLICY SHOULD TILT TOWARD THE WHITE MINORITY REGIMES BECAUSE THERE WAS NO POSSIBILITY FOR CHANGE IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. THAT WAS JUNE OF 74. BY JANUARY OF 75 -- LESS THAN SIX MONTHS LATER -- THE ALVOR AGREEMENTS HAD BEEN SIGNED. AND THE PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT HAD FALLEN, AND THE DATES WERE SET FOR MOZAMBIQUE, GUINEAU BISSAU, CAPE VERDI, AND ANGOLA'S INDEPENDENCE. FASCIST AND NEO-FACIST STATES DO NOT EVOLVE OR DISINTEGRATE GRADUALLY, THEY COLLAPSE. AND I THINK IF THERE IS A PEOPLE WHO ARE PREPARED WITH A VISION AS, SAY IN PORTUGAL, MARIO SUAREZ, A MAN WHO WAS IN AND OUT OF JAIL CONSTANTLY, BUT WHO MAINTAINED A VISION OF A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY, WAS ABLE TO WIN AN ELECTION. AND IN GREECE THERE HAS BEEN A RETURN TO DEMOCRACY, VERY SUDDENLY, AFTER THE COLLAPSE OF THE MILITARY JUNTA WHICH WAS NOT PROJECTED EVEN A FEW WEEKS BEFORE IT HAPPENED. I'M A PREACHER, YOU KNOW, AND THIS IS SUNDAY, AND MY SCRIPTURE READS, "BE YE ALWAYS READY FOR YOU KNOW NOT THE DAY NOR THE HOUR."

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NOW ON THE OTHER QUESTION ABOUT VIOLENCE. I THINK YOU HAVE TO OPPOSE VIOLENCE AND THE DESTRUCTION OF HUMAN LIFE, GENERALLY, AND I DO. BUT, WHEN YOU TALK ABOUT A LIFESPAN FOR BLACKS IN RHODESIA THAT KILLS THEM IN HALF THE TIME OF A LIFESPAN OF WHITES, WHEN YOU TALK ABOUT THE INFANT MORTALITY RATE, WHEN YOU TALK ABOUT THE THREATS OF DISEASE, WHEN YOU TALK ABOUT MALNUTRITION THAT ARE A RESULT OF A SYSTEMATIC OPPRESSION AND DEATH DEALING, THEN YOU HAVE TO RELATE THE VIOLENCE OF A MILITARY SITUATION, TRAGIC THOUGH IT IS, YOU HAVE TO RELATE IT TO THE TOTAL VIOLENCE OF THE SITUATION. AND USUALLY, YOU KNOW, I WOULD SAY

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THAT IT'S BEST NOT TO WASTE TIME JUDGING, IT'S MUCH BETTER TO USE ONE'S TIME PRAYING TO IMPROVE THE SITUATION AND DO AWAY WITH ALL FORMS OF VIOLENCE. THAT PASSIVE VIOLENCE THAT KILLS CHILDREN QUIETLY OR DESTROYS MEN IN THE MINDS, OR THROUGH ALCHOHOLISM OR UNEMPLOYMENT, THAT'S JUST AS DEADLY AS BEING MACHINE-GUNNED, AND MAYBE MUCH MORE CRUEL BECAUSE IT'S A SLOW AND LINGERING DEATH. AND I THINK WHEN WE OPPOSE DEATH IN ALL OF ITS FORMS AND VIOLENCE IN ALL OF ITS FORMS, THEN AND ONLY ON THAT BASIS CAN THERE BE ANY MORALIZING ABOUT IT.

Q. MR AMBASSADOR, I WOULD LIKE TO COME BACK TO THE UNITED STATES ATTITUDE WHICH YOU BROUGHT TO YOUR VISIT TO SOUTH AFRICA IN THE FAR FUTURE OR IN THE NEAR FUTURE. NOW YOU ARE CONCERNED WITH THE SOURCE OF MAJORITY RULE AND I HAVE NOTICED AND OTHERS HAVE THAT THE UNITED STATES PRESIDENT IN THE LAST STATEMENT RECORDED USED THE TERM (INAUDIBLE) OF ALL THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA. NOW, THE QUESTION THAT I WOULD LIKE TO POSE TO YOU IS MAYBE A LITTLE HYPOTHETICAL, BUT IT RELATES TO AN ENDEAVOR OF SOME INFLUENTIAL PEOPLE IN THIS COUNTRY, POLITICIANS AND OTHERS WITH SIMILAR INTERESTS, WHO SEEM TO THINK THAT IT COULD BE PRACTICAL
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POLITICS FOR THE NEAR FUTURE TO FOUND A SYSTEM OF PARTICIPATION OF ALL THE VARIOUS GROUPS OF THIS COUNTRY IN A GOVERNMENT, IF NOT (INAUDIBLE) A MAJORITY RULE ITSELF, BUT IT WOULD BE A FORM OF PARTICIPATION OF ALL THE INTERESTED GROUPS IN THIS COUNTRY IN THE GOVERNMENT. WOULD THE UNITED STATES, EVEN AS AN INTERIM MEASURE APPROVE SUCH A GOVERNMENT AS A DEVELOPMENT, OR WOULD IT ALSO CONTINUE BRINGING ABOUT PRESSURES AGAINST SUCH A GOVERNMENT?

A. I'M NOT SURE WHAT THE DIFFERENCE IS STILL. AND THE REASON I SWITCH AWAY FROM MAJORITY RULE AND SWITCH BACK AND FORTH BETWEEN "NAJORITY RULE" AND "FULL PARTICIPATION" IS THAT PEOPLE HAVE A WAY OF SAYING "BLACK MAJORITY RULE". AND ITS NOT NECESSARILY SO. YOU LOOK AT MOZAMBIQUE, YOU LOOK AT KENYA, YOU LOOK AT TANZANIA, YOU LOOK AT THE IVORY COAST. THERE ARE WHITES IN THE GOVERNMENT; THERE ARE INDIANS IN THE GOVERNMENT; AND A NON-RACIAL SYSTEM FULL PARTICIPATION

AND MAJORITY RULE ARE ESSENTIALLY SYNONYMOUS IN MY MIND.
WE WOULD OPPOSE SCHEMES, I THINK, THAT WOULD ATTEMPT TO

DISFRANCHISE OR MODIFY THE EFFECT OF ONE MAN ONE VOTE. VICE PRES-
IDENT MONDALE SAID THAT, ESSENTIALLY, AND BY HIS USE OF "FULL
PARTICIPATION" HE MEANT ONE MAN ONE VOTE. BUT ONE MAN ONE VOTE
DOES NOT NECESSARILY MEAN THAT PEOPLE WHO ARE VOTING, WHO VOTE ON
THE BASIS OF RACE, ONE OF THE THINGS WE HAVE LEARNED IN OUR
SITUATION --- WHICH IS TOTALLY IRRELEVANT TO YOURS ---- IS THAT
PEOPLE ARE WISE ENOUGH TO VOTE FOR THE BEST PERSON AND THAT IN SOME
SITUATIONS WHERE THERE WAS A WHITE WOMAN RUNNING AGAINST A BLACK
MAN IN A DISTRICT THAT WAS 70PCT BLACKS, THE WHITE WOMAN GOT
70PCT OF THE VOTE. IN ANOTHER SITUATION WHERE THE DISTRICT, IN MY
SITUATION WHEN I WAS RUNNING, AGAINST A WHITE MAN, AND THE DISTRICT
WAS 62PCT WHITE AND 38PCT BLACK, I GOT 67PCT OF THE VOTE.
PEOPLE WILL VOTE THEIR INTERESTS. THEY WON'T VOTE IDEOLOGY
AND THEY WON'T VOTE RACE UNLESS THEY ARE FORCED TO, AND THE ONLY
REASON THAT THERE IS NOT MORE WHITE PARTICIPATION IN A GOVERNMENT,
A EUROPEAN PARTICIPATION IN A GOVERNMENT LIKE MOZAMBIQUE,
KENYA, ANGOLA IS THAT RATHER THAN STAY THERE AND WORK WITH THE
PEOPLE WHO CAME TO POWER, THEY CHOSE TO LEAVE. I DON'T THINK
ANYBODY IS LEAVING SOUTH AFRICA I THINK YOU ARE ALL DOOMED
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TO STAY HERE. AIN'T NO PLACE TO GO.

Q. AMB YOUNG, I'M WONDERING BACK ON THE QUESTION OF LIBERATION
STRUGGLE YOU TALKED ABOUT BEFORE. WOULD THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION,
UNDER ANY CONDITIONS, I WOULD LIKE TO TAKE IT PESSIMISTICALLY, UNDER
ANY CONDITIONS, SUPPORT A LIBERATION STRUGGLE IF IT WERE CONVINCED THA
T

THAT LIBERATION STRUGGLE WERE COMMITTED TO DEMOCRATIC ENDS AND SPEC-
IFICALLY BEGINS TO SPEAK OF AND THAT THERE IS NO POSSIBLE NEGOTIATED
SETTLEMENT, HAS THE AMERICAN GOVT MOVED TO THE POINT WHERE IT IS
ACTUALLY WILLING TO DEAL WITH REALITY AT THAT POINT?

A. WELL IT WOULD SUPPORT LIBERAL MOVEMENTS BUT I DON'T THINK IT
WOULD SUPPORT THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS TO THE EXTENT OF ARMING
THEM. LET'S TAKE ONE MORE QUESTION AND THEN, WELL, WE'LL
TAKE THOSE TWO.

1. MY QUESTION IS ALLIED TO THE QUESTION THAT WAS RAISED HERE A
LITTLE BEFORE OF THE COOPERATION. ESSENTIALLY, WE APPRECIATE
WHAT YOU AND YOUR GOVERNMENT ARE DOING ON INTERNATIONAL PLATFORMS
TO PUT THE PRESSURE ON FOR POSITIVE CHANGE IN THIS COUNTRY
AND ALL PARTIES. WELL MY QUESTION IS, TO WHAT EXTENT ARE THE
PEOPLE OF US ALSO COMMITTED TO SUPPORTING (INAUDIBLE) FOR CHANGE
FOR THE UNDERDOGS BECAUSE IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS IT IT THEY
WHOM WE NEED. THE QUESTION BEFORE MENTIONED CORPORATIONS AND
AND YOU MENTIONED EDUCATION, AUTHORITIES, UNIVERSITIES AND THINGS
LIKE THAT. TO WHAT EXTENT ARE THE PEOPLE OF THE US EQUALLY
COMMITTED TO USING THEIR FORCE AND POWER TO HELP IN THIS
(INAUDIBLE)

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I BELIEVE IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS THAT CHANGE MUST
BE BROUGHT BY THE PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY AND WHAT OTHER PEOPLE
CAN DO IS TO HELP US TO HELP OURSELVES.
A. EXACTLY, I THINK YOU UNDERSTAND YOUR SITUATION WELL AND YOU
UNDERSTAND OUR SITUATION WELL. ONE OF THE REASONS WHY WE TOLERATE
ALL THESE JOURNALISTS FOLLOWING US AROUND IS THAT THEY REALLY
ARE DOING A GOOD JOB OF COMMUNICATING WITH THE AMERICAN PEOPLE
AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ESSENTIALLY RESPOND TO THE UNDERDOG IF
THEY UNDERSTAND THE ISSUE. I THINK THIS TRIP HAS BEEN PARTICULARLY
SUCCESSFUL BECAUSE IT HAS GIVEN THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AN OPPORTUNITY
TO THINK ABOUT AFRICAN ISSUES IN A POSITIVE CONTEXT RATHER THAN
IN THE CONTEXT OF A CRISIS WITH SO MANY PEOPLE BEING THREATENED
TO BE RUN OUT OF THE COUNTRY, OR THE KINDS OF THINGS THAT NORMALLY
GET TO THE FRONT PAGE OF THE NEWS. I THINK EDUCATING THE AMERICAN
PUBLIC ON FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES IS ONE OF THE REASONS WHY I SPEAK OUT
ALL
THE TIME. I HAVE BEEN ENCOURAGED BY THE PRESIDENT TO DO THAT
BECAUSE HE UNDERSTANDS, JUST AS YOU SAY IT, THAT THE AMERICAN
PEOPLE ARE NOT GOING TO SUPPORT A FOREIGN POLICY THAT THEY DO
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NOT UNDERSTAND. I WOULD LIKE TO SAY THAT OUR FOREIGN POLICY
FROM 1945 ON WAS ESSENTIALLY A POLICY OF CONTAINMENT OF

COMMUNISM IN EUROPE THRU DEVELOPMENT AND THAT POLICY OF MILITARY CONTAINMENT WAS ACCOMPANIED BY A MASSIVE DEVELOPMENT EFFORT KNOWN AS THE MARSHALL PLAN, WHICH REALLY PUT EUROPE ON ITS FEET. SOMEWHERE ALONG THE LINE WHEN WE ARE DEALING WITH THE DEVELOPING WORLD, WE TRY TO HAVE A POLICY OF CONTAINMENT WITHOUT THE DEVELOPMENT ASPECTS AND IT DOESN'T WORK. DEVELOPMENT WHEN YU ARE TALKING OF THE CONTNENT OF AFRICA OR LATIN AMERICA IS A TERRIBLY EXPENSIVE ITEM AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE PROVEN THEMSELVES WILLING TO PAY FOR THINGS THAT THEY UNDERSTAND AND BELIEVE IN, EVEN TO THE POINT OF SACRIFICE, AND SO ONE OF THE THINGS THAT I HAVE BEEN TRYING TO DO IS MAKE ENOUGH FUSS SO THAT PEOPLE BEGIIN TO DEVELOP THEIR OWN OPINIONS ABOUT WHAT IS GOING ON IN AFRICA. IT DOESN'T MATTER WHETHER THEY AGREE WITH ME OR NOT AS LONG AS THEY THINK ABOUT IT. THEY THINK ABOUT IT AND IF THEY LOOK INTO IT AND DISCUSS IT, IT BECOMES AN ISSUE AND THEY FORM AN OPINION, AND I THINK THAT IN ALL OF THE SO-CALLED CONTROVERSIES WE HAVE WON MORE BATTLES THAN WE HAVE LOST. IN FACT, I DON'T KNOW OF ONE WE HAVE LOST YET. NOBODY EVER COMES BACK THREE MONTHS LATER AND GIVES YOU CREDIT FOR HAVING WTN IT, BUT THAT'S NOT IMPORTANT. THE IMPORTANT THING IS THAT WE CONTINUE TO WAGE BATTLES FOR PUBLIC OPINION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TOWARD A POLICY WHICH IN AFRICA WHICH IS IN THEIR INTEREST, AND WHICH ESSENTIALLY SUPPORTS THE PEOPLE IN AFRICA WHO ARE THEMSELVES MOBILIZING IN THEIR OWN BEHALF.

LET ME GET JUST THIS ONE AND THEN WE'LL.....

Q. WHAT IS YOUR NATION'S ATTITUDE TOWARD SPORTS?

A. WELL MY GOVERNMENT DOESN'T HAVE A POSITION ON THAT, BUT I DO, AND I'M GLAD TO SHARE IT WITH YOU BECAUSE I DON'T THINK YOU ARE GOING TO AGREE WITH ME. MY POLICY WOULD BE TO GAN GOVERNMENT SPORTS, LIKE GOVERNMENT PARTICIPATION IN THE DAVIS CUP, BUT IN TERMS OF INDIVIDUAL ATHELETS, I WOULD MAKE DISTINCTIONS. I WOULD ALSO ENCOURAGE BLACK ATHELETES TO COMPETE IN SOUTH AFRICA. THE REASON WHY I SAY THAT IS AGAIN THROUGH MY OWN EXPERIENCE WHICH LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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DOESN'T MATTER A DAMN TO YOU, BUT IT'S ALL I GOT. AND THAT IS, I BELIEVE THATTHERE WAS A PERIOD IN MY LIFE WHICH WAS PRE-POLITICAL AND PRE-REVOLUTIONARY, WHEN THERE WERE NO POLITICAL LEADERS THAT MY GOVERNMENT WOULD LET ME COMMUNICATE WTH. WHEN THE SPOKESMAN FOR BLACK AMERICA IN THE 30'S AND 40'S, WHEN I WAS GROWING UP, PAUL ROBESON WAS SMEERED AS A COMMUNIST AND W.E. DU BOIS WAS FORCED TO RUN TO AFRICA. NONE OF THEIR WORKS WERE PUBLISHED. THEY WERE IN FACT, BANNED BY ANOTHER NAME. I HAD NO KNOWLEDGE OF THEM AS A CHILD. MY POLITICAL EDUCATION AND SENSE OF SELFHOOD REALLY CAME FROM PEOPLE LIKE JOE LOUIS. WHEN JOE LOUIS KNOCKED OUT MAX SCHMELING, THAT WAS FREEDOM DAY; WHEN JESSE OWENS WON THE 1936 OLYMPICS, I WAS ONLY FOUR YEARS OLD, BUT I KNEW WHAT THAT WAS ABOUT, AND MY CONSCIOUSNESS AS A BLACK PERSON CAME ALMOST TOTALLY FROM SPORT. ONE OF THE REASONS WHY I CAME HERE WITH ARTHUR ASCHE,

AND ENCOURAGED HIM TO COME HERE, WAS BECAUSE I THINK THAT BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS DEPENDS ON MANY SPHERES OF COMPETITION WIT WHITES. THE LAST TIME I WAS HERE I SAW ON THE FRONT PAGE OF JUST ABOUT EVERY DAILY HERE BACK IN DECEMBER A PICTURE OF A BLACK MAN KNOCKING OUT A WHITE MAN IN A PRIZE FIGHT. I WOULD SAY THAT THAT WAS A REVOLUTIONARY ACT IN THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF CHILDREN OF SOWTO THAT NOBODY UNDERSTOOD. SAME SORT OF THING WIT MY COMING HERE, YOU KNOW, I AM TERRIBLY SELF-CONSCIOUS WITH THIS MOTORCYCLE BRIGADE RUNNING ME THROUGH TOWN. BUT I REMEMBER IN THE 50'S WHEN THE UNFIRST MOVED TO NEW YORK. I WAS A STUDENT AND WHEN I WOULD SEE A PROCESSION LIKE THIS, OF LIMOUSINES AND MOTORCYCLES RUNNING DOWN THE STREETS I WOULD RUN AN D LOOK AND SEE WHAT IT WAS ALL ABOUT AND WHEN I WOULD SEE A BLACK PERSON GETTING OUT OF ONE OF THOSE LIMOUSINES WITH A POLICE ESCORT. THAT SAID TO ME, YOU KNOW, ONE THING: A "NIGGER" CAN BE SOMEBODY*. THANK YOUVERY MUCH. END TEXT
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